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# LUNDY'S LANE HISTORICAL SOCIETY



## QUEENSTON HEIGHTS.

BY  
**ERNEST CRUIKSHANK.**

*Captain, 44th Battalion.*

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Second Edition.

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Niagara Falls, Canada:  
PRINTED BY THE RECORD PRINTING HOUSE.  
1891.

**1812/1822**  
SCENE OF HOT BATTLE IN WAR OF 1812—Earth works of old Fort Drummond, on Queenston Heights, near monument to General Brock





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## AUTHOR'S NOTE.

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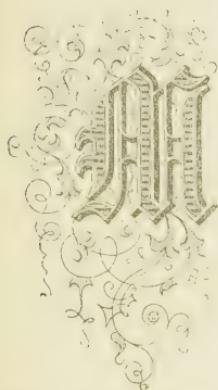
DEMAND having arisen for a second edition of this pamphlet, it has been carefully revised and considerably enlarged. Among the authorities consulted, the following may be mentioned: Armstrong's, Auchinleck's, Brackenridge's, Ingersoll's, Lossing's, Low's, Smith's, David Thomson's and J. L. Thomson's Histories of the War of 1812; an Impartial History, and Sketches of the War by anonymous writers, Brannan's Official Letters, Bonney's Gleanings of Past Years, James' Military Occurrences, Symond's Battle of Queenston, Christie's Military Operations, the Letters of Veritas, the Narratives of Solomon Van Rensselaer, Col. Chrystie and Hon. W. H. Merritt, Tupper's Life of Brock and Records of the Brock Family, Mansfield's Life of Scott, Stone's Life of Brant, Wilkinson's Memoirs, Turner's History of Phelps Purchase, McKenney's Tour to the Lakes and Howison's Travels in Upper Canada. Much information has been gleaned from files of contemporary newspapers, among which may be cited: The "Albany Argus and Gazette," "Buffalo Gazette," "Boston Messenger," "Nile's Register," "New York Evening Post," "Philadelphia Aurora," "Poulson's American," "Washington National Intelligencer," "Montreal Gazette" and "Quebec Mercury." Invaluable unpublished materials have been found in the official correspondence in the Canadian Archives and War Department at Washington, and use has been made of MS. Letterbooks of Governor D. D. Tompkins and Col. W. Claus, and of an article on Gen. Wool in the Historical Magazine for 1867.

FORT ERIE, June, 1891.



# BATTLE OF QUEENSTON HEIGHTS.

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OST CANADIANS are sufficiently familiar with the stately column which crowns the summit of Queenston Heights, and looks down upon an expanse of scenery that can scarcely be paralleled for variety and sublimity, save by the view from the edge of the plateau, on which an obelisk marks the spot where "Wolfe died victorious." Most of them know, also, in a general way, why it was placed there, and that Brock died to preserve what Wolfe had died to conquer.

It is not necessary to trace the march of events immediately succeeding the declaration of war by the United States, on the 18th of June, 1812; how Brock cheered up the despondent, decided the wavering and overawed the disloyal among the inhabitants of the province by a settled policy, to use his own words, of "speaking loud and looking big;" how, prevented by the express instructions of his superior from attacking the enemy beyond the Niagara, he assembled an enthusiastic body of volunteers, and taking with him almost every regular soldier at his disposal, flew to repel the invader at the Detroit; how he promptly determined to cross that river contrary to the opinion of his most trusted officers; and how his audacity was rewarded by a complete and bloodless victory, is tolerably well known to every Canadian.

But, while conquering at Detroit, he could not fail to be apprehensive that disaster might have befallen the weakened garrisons on the Niagara, and scarcely twenty-four hours were permitted to elapse before he was on his way thither, carrying with him all the troops that had accompanied or preceded him to that quarter, fully alive to the truth of the Napoleonic maxim that "in war, time is everything." Brock then hoped

to duplicate his exploit by the capture of Fort Niagara and the dispersal of the forces assembled on that frontier. That it would have been an easy task, there can now be no reasonable doubt, for although superior in numbers, the American troops there, were, by the admission of their commander, in a very indifferent state of discipline, without any heavier ordnance than six pounders, and but few of them, and without artillerists. A few days later, when the true extent of Brock's success was made known, their demoralization became complete. The most absurd rumors were believed and spread. Panic-stricken fugitives from Detroit, anxious to excuse their cowardice, gravely related that a hundred fresh scalps had been deposited at Colonel Elliott's feet, and that he had paid for them at the rate of six dollars each. Not only the Western Indians, but those residing in Michigan and Canada were reported to have taken the hatchet, and to be already on their way to devastate the border settlements of Ohio. The appearance of two British war-vessels on the south shore of Lake Erie threw the inhabitants of Chautauqua county into a paroxysm of terror. Fearful memories of Cherry Valley and Wyoming were recalled, and a general flight began. The militia became clamorous for pay, and sought furloughs under every possible pretext. When refused, they feigned sickness or deserted.

The intensity of Brock's disappointment may be imagined when he learned, on his arrival at Fort Erie on the 22nd of August, that an armistice had been proclaimed five days before. Persistently hoping against hope that peace might be established without bloodshed, the Governor-General of Canada, as soon as he was informed of the repeal of the obnoxious Orders in Council, assigned by the American government as the chief cause of their declaration of war, dispatched his Adjutant-General, Colonel Baynes, to General Dearborn, commander of the United States forces in the State of New York, who had his headquarters at Greenbush, near Albany, to propose a cessation of hostilities till the decision of the cabinet could be ascertained. He found Dearborn in a favorable humor. The latter had indeed been vaguely instructed to make a diversion in favor of General Hull upon the Niagara, but was in no position to assume the offensive there or elsewhere at that mo-

ment. Most of the American merchant vessels on Lake Ontario were blockaded at Ogdensburg. Sackett's Harbor, his principal naval station on that lake, was nearly defenceless, and had been threatened with an attack ; the forces assembled on the Niagara were unprovided with artillery and necessary munitions of war. He readily assented to Baynes' proposals as far as the forces under his immediate command were concerned, as he could still continue his preparations for defence and invasion with entire freedom. But Hull was believed to be in full tide of success. It was confidently reported that he had taken Malden and was marching up the Thames. Dearborn therefore warily declined to extend the armistice to his operations.

General Van Rensselaer, who commanded the American forces on the Niagara, received the news with feelings of profound relief and satisfaction. Although refugees from Canada had assured him nearly a week before, that all the regular troops had been withdrawn from the posts opposite to meet General Hull, he still remained incredulous and apprehensive of an attack. Yet his force already exceeded two thousand men, of whom one-half were regulars. He perceived in an instant what an immense advantage might be derived from the cessation of hostilities, if the terms could be construed in such a way as to enable him to bring up troops and stores from Oswego and Sackett's Harbor by water, instead of the tedious overland route. Unless this concession were secured, the armistice would be of little immediate benefit to him. The agreement was so loosely worded as to leave this matter in doubt. His Adjutant-General was at once sent to Fort George with directions to insist on this interpretation.

Colonel Christopher Myers had been left in command there by General Brock. To garrison all the posts, he had less than three hundred men of the 41st regiment. The absentees of the flank companies of the Lincoln militia were called in and increased the number of militia in service to about four hundred. The remainder of the inhabitants were busily engaged in the harvest fields, but an additional draft of five hundred men was warned to hold itself in readiness to march to his support. The two armed vessels, *Prince Regent* and *Earl Moira*, were

moored in the mouth of the river to protect his left flank, while the new schooner, *Lady Prevost*, was anchored off Fort Erie to assist in the defence of that post. Efforts to strengthen the fortifications along the entire line were continued as far as his means would permit. A day or two before the armistice was announced, Colonel Roger Sheaffe of the 49th arrived and assumed command. Letters recently received from Prevost insisted on the policy of conciliating the enemy by every means in his power, and Sheaffe finally consented that both parties should enjoy the unrestricted navigation of Lake Ontario as long as the armistice continued, although an express from Detroit had informed him a few minutes before of the capitulation of the entire American army there.

All the advantages secured so far by the superiority of the British squadron on Lake Ontario were thrown away by a stroke of the pen. The blockaded vessels at Ogdensburg were removed to Sackett's Harbor to be armed, and troops and stores of all kinds hurried forward to Fort Niagara. Tidings of Brock's almost incredible success had preceded him, and as he rode down to Niagara he was met midway by many of the magistrates and principal inhabitants on horseback, who presented him with a congratulatory address, to which he replied with his characteristic readiness and tact, modestly disclaiming any personal credit, and ascribing his triumph to the fidelity and alacrity with which he had been supported by the people of the province, and the steadiness of the troops under his command. The volunteers who had accompanied him were filled with natural exultation, and their easy victory inspired them with a certain amount of contempt for their enemies, which was rapidly communicated to their friends and acquaintances. The arrival of the American general and the regulars of his army, a few days later, became the signal for a frantic outburst of enthusiasm, and aged loyalists who still nourished bitter memories of the Revolution, joyfully declared that Saratoga had been at last avenged.

Quite as profound was the dismay occasioned in the minds of even the most sanguine of his antagonists. "Three days ago," wrote Peter B. Porter, their Quartermaster-general, to the Governor of New York, "the heroes of Tippecanoe and the garrisons of Detroit and Mackinac,

amounting to about 500, were marched like cattle from Fort Erie to Fort George, guarded by General Brock's regular troops with all the parade and pomp of British insolence, and we were incapacitated by the armistice and our own weakness from giving them the relief they anxiously seemed to expect. With 4000 men on this river, the whole of Upper Canada and the Indian country would have been in our possession. Now, Detroit and a brave army taken, the Indians let loose upon our frontiers, the inhabitants flying in every direction. Brock with his army and Indians and thousands of inspired Canadians, and a powerful train of field and garrison artillery taken at Detroit, arrived on this frontier and ready to act. Indeed it is now reduced to a certainty that the inhabitants of this frontier are doomed to feel the scourge and desolation of the war. The hour that closes the armistice will bring ruin to most of them who live on this frontier. We have been daily amused for two months by news of heavy ordnance and flying artillery. They come as far as Utica and then disappear. This letter is written in a state of mind little short of distraction. Yesterday a number of men were shot at Fort George, in view of our troops. They are supposed to be unfortunate fellows who joined General Hull, in Canada, and were surrendered at Detroit, and for whose protection provision should have been made in the capitulation, at the expense of the life of every man in the garrison. The public mind is wrought up almost to a pitch of madness. Jealousy and distrust begin to prevail towards the general officers." John Lovett, private Secretary to General Van Rensselaer, wrote about the same time to a friend : "Hull's surrender has cemented Canada beyond anything you can conceive. It has also a serious effect on the Indians along the whole frontier. The sensation produced by the sight of prisoners marched past is inexpressible."

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that when General Dearborn, having learned that his government had peremptorily declined to enter into fresh negotiations, and believing the rumor of the capture of Malden, instructed Van Rensselaer to terminate the armistice at once, that the latter exercised the discretionary power allowed him

of prolonging it until the last of his artillery had arrived. But when the last division of boats hove in sight, and all the benefit that could be reasonably expected from its continuance had been secured, notice was given that it would end on the 8th of September,

Four hundred batteaux, loaded with artillery and stores, had come in from Oswego; great quantities of provisions had been collected; a large number of scows and boats, suitable for the passage of the river, had been built; several thousand additional troops had arrived, and more were on the march, yet the American general hesitated to assume the offensive. The panic created by the surrender of Detroit had by that time reached Albany, and Dearborn wrote to warn him that an attack upon his position was imminent. British troops had been seen ascending the St. Lawrence, and he must be prepared to fall back if hard pushed, and not be caught in a trap like Hull. The disembarkation of detachments of soldiers, both at Fort Erie and Niagara, close upon the heels of this information, alarmed and perplexed him. Colonel Fenwick, commanding at Fort Niagara, reporting that an attack was expected by him, the stores were removed, the siege-guns buried, and every preparation made for the hasty evacuation of the post.

Stephen Van Rensselaer, who held chief command by virtue of his rank as Major General of the New York state troops, was an utter novice in all military affairs, and could scarcely even be termed an amateur soldier. The last *patroon* of the manor of Rensselaer-Wyck and the leading Federalist in the state, his appointment was a sharp stroke of party tactics on the part of the governor, who discovered in him a prospective and dangerous opponent. The recent Congressional elections had seemed to indicate that the Federalists had regained the confidence of the people of New York, and most of their leaders were uncompromising in their hostility to the war. If Van Ransselaer accepted the command, his immediate following would be committed to its prosecution; if he refused, his conduct could be denounced as unpatriotic.

Five generations of the Van Rensselaers had reigned in the ancient manor-house near Albany, and their estates stretched along the Hudson

from Barren Island to Cohoes, extending inland for twenty-five miles, on either side of the river, and comprising a thousand square miles of territory. Under the Dutch governors they had assumed almost regal state, exacting oaths of allegiance from their tenants, and they still maintained many of their feudal customs, giving perpetual leases, receiving the rents in dozens of fowls, and bushels of wheat, and personal service, and holding regular quarter sales. In the Congressional district, in which Albany was situated, their influence was paramount, and members of the family represented it for twenty years. Stephen, the present head of the house, was an amiable and benevolent, but rather dull man of about fifty years of age. On all strictly military subjects, he was compelled to rely upon the advice of his Adjutant-General and cousin, Solomon Van Rensselaer, who had been bred a soldier, had served in the United States army for ten years, and had held his present appointment for as many more. He had been wounded in Wayne's campaign against the Indians, and possessed the reputation of a brave and skilful officer.

Remaining but a few hours at Niagara, the indefatigable Brock hurried on to Kingston, where he inspected the militia, examined the growing fortifications, and wrote to Sir George Prevost for permission to attack Sackett's Harbor, where the American shipping on Lake Ontario had taken refuge. With his present superiority upon the lake, he assured him that its capture would be an easy matter. A portion of the American troops at Niagara would be probably recalled for its relief, and while they were marching overland he would sail up the lake and throw his whole force against the posts they had left. But to the governor this daring scheme of operation seemed far too hazardous, and in reply he enjoined Brock not to provoke the enemy by needless annoyance, but remain strictly on the defensive, and even hinted that he had risked too much when he ventured to cross the river at Detroit.

This project having been rejected, Brock returned to Niagara, where he learned that Van Rensselaer had already given notice of the termination of the armistice. Lewiston Heights were whitened with the tents of a large encampment. Other camps were visible at Schlosser, Black

Rock, and in rear of Fort Niagara. Batteries had been erected on the commanding ground opposite Fort George and at Lewiston, and armed with heavy guns. A large flotilla of boats, suitable for the transportation of troops, lay moored under the guns of the fort, at the mouth of the river, and others had been taken up to Lewiston. Forty batteaux, each capable of carrying thirty men, were known to have been built in Tonawanda creek. Every day large bodies of men could be seen exercising and marching to and fro, attended by a numerous train of field artillery and detachments of cavalry. Everything pointed to an immediate attack, while Brock found himself at once hampered by want of officers, men, and artillery, and wrote to Prevost that he must have a thousand more regular soldiers to defend that frontier. The latter replied, that not another man could be spared for Upper Canada under any circumstances. Without delay the British commander set to work to supply the deficiency of men and means with his wonted energy. Detachments of troops were ordered up from Kingston and down from Amherstburg. Batteries were built and mounted with cannon taken from the fortifications of Detroit. An extensive system of beacons was established, stretching from the Sugar Loaf and Point Abino, along the lake and river to Lundy's Lane and Queenston, and thence inland to Pelham Heights, by which the movements of the enemy could be instantaneously signalled over the entire peninsula by night or day. Two thousand captured muskets, and the accoutrements of Hull's regular troops, were distributed among the militia of the province. His tireless activity and watchfulness excited the admiration even of his enemies. "I send you Brock's seal," Lovett wrote to a friend, "with his appropriate motto; 'He who guards, never sleeps.'"

Earthworks of some description were constructed on every commanding point along the river, from Queenston to its mouth, and at any menacing movement of the American troops, alarm-guns were fired, and horsemen rode off in every direction.

Nor were the embarrassments of the British general, from lack of clothing and ready money, less annoying and serious. A number of the wealthier inhabitants, who formed themselves into a company

known as the "Queenston and Niagara Association," had at that critical moment in July, when the fate of the province hung in the balance, loaned him several thousand pounds of ready money, which enabled him to equip his expedition for the relief of Malden. The contents of General Hull's military chest, and ten thousand dollars sent him by the Governor-General, had enabled him to satisfy the most pressing demands since. But the pay of his troops, both regulars and militia, was several months in arrears, and they were unable to obtain the most trifling article without paying the highest price in cash for it. They were without tents or camp utensils of any description. Their clothing hung about them in tatters; their shoes were worn out, and they suffered dreadfully from cold and wet, yet their patience and cheerfulness excited his warmest admiration and praise. With the exception of a few men from the militia, who generally went to their homes, and afterwards rejoined their companies, there were scarcely any desertions.

On the other side of the river bodies of fresh troops were constantly arriving, but their militia was represented as being very much dissatisfied and extremely inefficient. Sickness prevailed in their camp and funerals were daily observed. Seven men of the 6th United States Infantry deserted in a body and attempted to swim the river, six of whom perished in sight of both armies. Undeterred by the fate of his unfortunate comrades, another man of the same regiment plunged in next day and swam successfully over amid a shower of bullets. Two companies that had arrived during the armistice, each consisting of sixty men, this fugitive said, had already been reduced one-half by desertion.

"The United States regiments of the line desert over to us frequently," Brock wrote on the 18th of September. "The men are tired of the service. Opportunities seldom offer, otherwise I have reason to think the greater part would follow their example. The militia being principally composed of enraged democrats are more ardent and anxious to engage, but they have neither subordination nor discipline."

By the middle of September, two companies of the Royal Newfoundland and six of the 49th regiment arrived from Kingston, and ninety men of the 41st came down from Detroit. These slender reinforcements

were ostentatiously paraded in view of the enemy as they arrived, and marched from place to place with marked effect, as we have already observed. Three hundred Indians had come in and two hundred more were promised, but Brock placed little dependence upon auxiliaries of such uncertain temperament. "They may serve to intimidate," he said, "but no effective service can be expected from this degenerate race." To Prevost he wrote that there was no doubt great discontent existed among the American forces, "and much might be done, but keeping in mind Your Excellency's instructions, and aware of the policy of permitting such a force to dwindle away by its own inefficient means, I do not contemplate any immediate attack." But in a letter to his brother a few days later, he avowed his real impatience at his forced inactivity. "My instructions oblige me to adopt defensive measures, and I have evinced greater forbearance than was ever practised on any former occasion. It is thought that without aid of the sword, the American people may be brought to a due sense of their interests. I firmly believe that at this moment I could sweep everything before me from Fort Niagara to Buffalo, but my success would be transient."

In fact the arrival of his reinforcements had almost produced a panic in the American camp. Party strife raged among the officers with unabated fury. Porter and his friends styled the commanding general a traitor, while Solomon Van Rensselaer openly announced his intention of publishing Porter as "a poltroon, coward, and scoundrel." In this dilemma, General Dearborn suggested that the Governor of the State should assume supreme command himself and march thither with as large a force of militia as he could assemble, while he would endeavor to draw off part of the British troops by a movement towards Montreal by way of Lake Champlain. Tompkins was too shrewd a politician to imperil his reputation by so rash a step, but he displayed great vigor in pushing forward troops and stores, and invested Van Rensselaer with authority to call out an almost unlimited number of militia from the neighboring counties. Dearborn at the same time dispatched regiment after regiment of regular troops to Van Rensselaer's assistance, while the Secretary of War sent sailors to equip and man the boats and vessels

at Buffalo, and was urging forward another army to recover Detroit. Two thousand volunteers from Pennsylvania were at the same time ordered to march to the Niagara.

Their secret and persistent efforts to enlist the Indians residing in New York and Pennsylvania actively on their side finally promised to be successful. In July Erastus Granger, the American Indian Agent for the State of New York, held a council with the Senecas at Buffalo, during which he proposed that they should permit two hundred of their young men to join the American army. This they refused to do, but consented to send some of their chiefs to the Grand River to dissuade their confederate tribes from joining the British. In this mission they were unsuccessful, but Granger appears to have represented to his government that they were anxious to be employed themselves, for as early as the 27th of July the Secretary of War wrote to Dearborn, enclosing a letter to Granger, authorizing him to organize the warriors of the Six Nations conditionally. At this time it was quite impossible for him to have known that any Indians had joined the British. About the middle of September, Van Rensselaer held a grand council with the Tuscaroras, and advantage was craftily taken of the appearance of a British scouting party upon Grand Island, which was still the property of the Senecas, to excite alarm among them lest they should be deprived of these lands. They were then induced to declare war formally, and Red Jacket pompously announced that they would put 3,000 warriors in the field. Several hundred Indians were brought down from the Alleghany River and a great feast and war dance held in the streets of Buffalo. Almost at the moment when these events were taking place, the Secretary again wrote to Dearborn:—"By letters received from Erastus Granger it appears that the young men of the Six Nations can no longer be restrained, and that in case of refusal on the part of the United States to accept their services they would join the Indians under the British standard. Mr. Granger has therefore been authorized, after every attempt to secure their neutrality has failed, to employ them." In direct contradiction to the statement contained in this letter stands a speech delivered at Onondaga, the ancient council ground of the Six

Nations, by sixteen chiefs, representing five tribes of the confederacy distributed as far west as Tonawanda, on the 29th of September ; "Having been told repeatedly by your agents to remain neutral, we were very much surprised at the council held at Buffalo Creek, at being invited to take up the tomahawk. We are not unfriendly to the United States but are few in number, and can do but little, but are willing to do what we can, and if you say so we will go with your people to battle. We are anxious to know your wishes as soon as possible, because we are afraid some of our young men may disperse among distant tribes and be hostile to you." By the beginning of October it is certain that about 300 warriors had joined Van Rensselaer's army, but they seem to have sent some apologetic message to the allied tribes in the British service, for these assured Brock that they would not act against him with any spirit. "So I imagine," he observed with his accustomed penetration, "if we continue to show a bold front, but in the event of a disaster the love of plunder will prevail in a manner to be the most dreaded by the inhabitants of this country."

The American militia were constantly in the habit of stealing down to the river and firing at the British sentries, the batteries, and private houses on the opposite bank, and soon excited an intense and almost ferocious feeling of hatred among the troops under Brock's command, but he had the satisfaction of being able to report at the end of two months of incessant annoyance and alarm, that his regulars had not been diminished by a single death at the hands of the enemy, nor by a solitary desertion, and that his entire force was in good health and spirits in spite of their privations. In fact the only loss occasioned by this desultory but harassing warfare, was the death of an unfortunate sentry, Private John Hendershot, of the 5th Lincoln, who was shot on his post at Queenston, on the 4th of September. The British forces were strictly forbidden to make any reply, and their endurance was often tested to its utmost limit in consequence. A letter from a spy, apparently residing near Fort Erie, to General Van Rensselaer, gives a very striking view of the situation and feelings of the people at this time. "General Brock," he remarks, "has paid attention to every particular that can relate to

the future resources of the province under his charge as well as to its immediate defence. The harvest has been got in tolerably well and greater preparation is made for sowing fall grain than ever before. The militia law is modified as much as possible to suit the circumstances of the people, and measures taken to prevent them feeling the burden of the war. The women work in the fields, encouragement being given for that purpose. When Hull's proclamation appeared it had its effect, there being security promised for private property, and the people would willingly have submitted, but when it was found that private property was seized without compensation the public sentiment entirely changed. The success of General Brock established the general sentiment ; he has since made the most of it, has become personally highly popular ; in short, has taken every measure that a judicious officer will take in his circumstances for the security of the province. A determination now prevails among the people to defend the country."

No dread of impending disaster ever damped his spirits or abated his activity. Irrepressibly sanguine himself, he possessed the rare faculty of imbuing all who came in contact with him with unbounded confidence in his abilities and respect for his character. To maintain his position in the face of the overwhelming numbers gathering in his front must at times have seemed well nigh hopeless, yet no sign of despondency was ever betrayed in his manner or conversation. His wonted sagacity was displayed in the selection of members of his military family. John McDonnell, the Attorney-General of the province and M. P. P. for Glengarry, and James Givins, of the Indian department, a man thoroughly familiar with the language and customs of the Indians of the province, were appointed provincial aides-de-camp. Robert Nichol, a wealthy merchant and miller of Port Dover, who knew intimately every part of the country between the Niagara and Detroit and almost every man in it, was nominated assistant quartermaster-general.

When the assembly was prorogued, an address to the people of the province had been prepared and signed by nearly the whole of the members, urging them to defend their country and pledging their aid and advice in the cause, and most of them had now taken the field in some

capacity. Many of the surviving loyalists, too old and feeble to bear the fatigue of a campaign, likewise tendered their services to perform garrison duty.

The weather had been singularly discouraging. July was excessively hot and dry, but August brought floods of rain. Wheat sprouted in the fields after being reaped and much of the harvest was ruined. September as a rule proved cool and pleasant, but October was ushered in by furious storms, and sudden changes of temperature which prevented most of the Indian corn from maturing, and blighted the lingering hopes of the farmers.

Besides several large scows for the transport of cannon, the Americans had begun to build three gun-boats at Black Rock, the destruction of which, Brock frankly confessed he would have attempted had he not been restrained by his instructions. The Indians were strictly prohibited from crossing the river under any pretence, and were closely watched and guarded. A party which arrived from the west to visit Colonel Claus, bringing with them a bundle of scalps, were sharply rebuked and pledged not to offend in that way again. These rigid precautions had the effect of diminishing the number of those with the army until it did not much exceed one hundred.

A variety of motives absolutely forced General Van Rensselaer to assume the offensive. During September six regiments of regular infantry, five of New York militia, a battalion of rifles and several companies of artillery joined his army. The Pennsylvania contingent had assembled at Meadville on the 20th, and was marching to Buffalo. Forage and provisions had already begun to grow scarce, and the autumn rains would undoubtedly increase the ravages of disease already frightfully prevalent among his militia. Dearborn strongly urged him to attempt the passage of the river, as he declared they must reckon upon obtaining possession of Upper Canada before the winter set in, assuring him at the same time that Harrison would invade the province by way of Detroit with six or seven thousand men, while another strong body of troops were already assembled at Sackett's Harbor, where a squadron was fitting out to contest possession of Lake Ontario, and he, in person,

promised to menace Montreal from Lake Champlain. The ultimate success of these operations he regarded as almost certain, but he warned Van Rensselaer that much would depend on his movements on the Niagara.\* Monroe, Secretary of State, openly ascribed the inactivity of the armies in New York to the effects of disaffection, which he declared had paralyzed the efforts of the administration and rendered the measures of Congress inoperative. The militia now clamored loudly to be led against the enemy, and did not hesitate to accuse their commander of lukewarmness and cowardice, while some of their officers announced their intention of invading Canada without waiting for orders from him, yet a trifling incident served to indicate how very little dependence was to be placed on their assistance. A sentinel near Schlosser was shot at his post in the night by some unknown person, and an entire company instantly threw down its arms and ran away, the fugitives never stopping till they had gained the main camp at Lewiston. Early in October Van Rensselaer summoned a council of war, to which he invited General Smyth, who had just taken command of a brigade of regular troops at Buffalo, General Hall, of the New York militia, and the commandant of each regiment of United States troops. Smyth showed his contempt for the militia general under whom he was forced to serve by neglecting to attend or even to explain his absence. Van Rensselaer had intended to concentrate the whole of his regular troops near Fort Niagara and the militia at Lewiston, and attempt the passage of the river simultaneously at both places, but in consequence of Smyth's misconduct this scheme was abandoned and he determined to cross from the latter place only, as he felt satisfied that the forces he had already assembled there were amply sufficient for the purpose. Staff-officers, under one pretext and another, had visited the British lines, and the result of their observations, coupled with information received from his spies had made him pretty thoroughly acquainted with the numbers and composition of the forces opposed to him.

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\* General Dearborn to Mr. Eustis, Secretary of War, Sept. 1st, 1812: "When the regular troops you have ordered for Niagara arrive at that post, with the militia and other troops on the march, they will be able, I presume, to cross over into Canada, carry all the works at Niagara and proceed to the other posts in that province in triumph."

No doubt was entertained of at least partial success. He confidently anticipated being able to secure a foothold in Canada where he could establish his army in winter quarters and prepare for an early campaign next year. The primary object of the invasion was simply described as being to expel the British from Queenston and obtain a shelter from the inclemency of the weather. More than eight thousand troops were assembled under his command, of whom about half were regulars. Three hundred artillery and eight hundred regular infantry occupied Fort Niagara, and nine hundred regular soldiers and 2,270 New York militia were encamped near Lewiston. At Buffalo, General Smyth had 1,650 regular troops, three hundred and eighty-six detached militia, two hundred and fifty sailors, and four hundred Indians, besides the local militia. The advance-guard of the Pennsylvania brigade of two thousand men had also arrived at Buffalo, and the remainder was within easy march of that place. Many batteaux and flat-bottomed boats were in readiness at Black Rock, Tonawanda, and Gill's Creek above the Falls, and at Lewiston and Four Mile Creek below, and a sufficient number could be collected at any given point in a few hours to carry over a thousand men. His train of field artillery was large and well equipped.

To resist this formidable army, Brock had fifteen companies of regular infantry, which may have mustered sixty rank and file each; two officers and thirty men of the Royal artillery, with five field guns; a troop of militia drivers, and a troop of Provincial Cavalry, besides the flank companies of the five Lincoln and two York battalions of militia. The fourteen flank companies probably did not average more than thirty-five officers and men each, or less than five hundred in all. The muster rolls of the five Lincoln battalions show a total of nearly two thousand men, but these were scattered over the twenty townships then composing the county, comprising the entire peninsula from Burlington Bay to the mouth of Grand river. Perhaps five hundred of these could be readily assembled at a few hours' notice. Most of the Indians had dispersed to their hunting-grounds. The exigencies of the transport service on the lakes had obliged the British general to send

away the armed vessels which had formerly secured the flanks of his position, and to guard a frontier which practically extended from the Sugar Loaf on Lake Erie to Four Mile Creek on Lake Ontario, and to occupy the numerous posts and batteries between, and maintain communication over a line of sixty miles, he had actually less than a thousand regular troops and six hundred militia, with a reserve of possibly six hundred militia and Indians. Half of this force was scarcely adequate to garrison Fort George and the adjacent batteries, and a body of troops could hardly be marched from one end of his line to the other in less than two days. The concentration of large bodies of men near Fort Niagara and Buffalo, where great numbers of boats were collected, forced Brock to weaken his centre and strengthen his wings, anticipating that an attempt would be made to turn his flank, and land troops a few miles in rear of the works protecting it. Four companies of the 49th, two of the Royal Newfoundland regiment, four of militia and a small detachment of Royal artillery, occupied Fort Erie and a series of batteries extending as low as Frenchman's Creek; four companies of militia and one company of the 41st were posted along the river between that point and Chippawa; the flank companies of the 49th and two of the York militia held the batteries near Queenston; the earthworks at Brown's and Field's points were each guarded by a militia company, while the remaining companies of the 49th and Lincoln militia and the field guns were quartered in and about Fort George. A chain of outposts and patrols maintained constant communication between all these posts, and the Indians were held in reserve in small parties several miles in rear. As the number of regular artillerymen was quite insufficient to work even the field guns in their possession, a corps of volunteer gunners had been formed partly from the regular infantry and partly from the militia under Captains Kerby and Swayze.

The quality of these troops was unquestionably superior to that of any likely to be brought against them. The 41st contained a large proportion of young recruits, but was a fine body of men, and although the men of the 49th had been ten years in the country, drinking rum without bounds, they were still respectable and ardent. The flank com-

panies of militia were generally composed of picked men and had attained a very creditable degree of discipline.

General Smyth favoured an attempt to pass the river between Fort Erie and Chippawa, and some intimation of this project may have reached Brock, for he increased the garrison of both places in the beginning of October, and established detachments to watch the river opposite the head of Navy Island and near Black Creek. One-third of the troopers off duty were ordered to sleep in their clothing fully accoutred and ready to spring into the saddle. On the 6th of October all the troops were directed to be under arms at four every morning.

The successful result of an attack upon two small armed vessels at Fort Erie served to raise the spirits of Van Rensselaer's army in a remarkable degree, and was actually a serious blow to their opponents, owing to the extreme scarcity of provisions apart from the loss of the vessels. This occurred early on the morning of the 9th October, and Brock arrived on the spot before sunset, but having apparently satisfied himself that no immediate attempt to cross the river was contemplated there, returned to Niagara next day. He turned this disaster to the best advantage by complimenting both regulars and militia on their splendid conduct in his last general order issued on the 12th October, Cornet Pell Major of the Niagara Dragoons, being distinguished by special mention for conspicuous bravery. This hurried journey had the effect of hastening Van Rensselaer's movements, for a spy returned to his camp with information that Brock had left Niagara in great haste and was supposed to have gone to Detroit. Encouraged by this report, and feeling, as he expressed it, "that the national character is degraded and the disgrace will remain, corroding the public feeling and spirit until another campaign, unless it be wiped away by a brilliant exploit in this," he determined to strike while the enthusiasm of his troops was yet at its heat over the recent exploit, and fixed the hour and place for crossing the river for three o'clock next morning at Queenston. The stream was there at its narrowest; a ferry had been established for years, and although the current was swift, the navigation was well ascertained and an indifferent oarsman could pull across in

less than ten minutes. His artillery, superior in numbers and calibre, could cover the landing from the high ground above Lewiston, where batteries had already been thrown up for it.

Accordingly the regulars from Fort Niagara, and strong detachments from Buffalo, were ordered to join the main-body at Lewiston before midnight, and boats sufficient to contain 500 men were secretly brought overland from Gill's Creek. A furious storm of wind and rain swept over his camp while the troops were drawn up in readiness to enter the boats, and the pilot of the expedition deserted in the darkness. In consequence the attack was indefinitely postponed. The rain continued with unabated violence for twenty-eight hours until the roads became almost impassable. Van Rensselaer then desired to wait a few days in the hope of reverting to his original plan, but the impatience of his troops seemed to be rather increased than diminished by their recent failure, and the pressure brought to bear upon him was too great to be withstood. His force was now still further increased by the arrival of three hundred and fifty regular soldiers, under Lieut.-Col. Chrystie, at Four Mile Creek, east of Fort Niagara. The appearance of these boats, and the detention of a large force near that place, led Brock to believe that an attempt would be made to land to the westward of Niagara, and prevented him from reinforcing the detachments at Queenston, and though he had become aware of the attempt to cross the river there, he regarded it simply as a feint to divert his attention from the true point of attack. The evident activity of the enemy near Buffalo at the same time restrained him from weakening the right of his extended line.

The river as it issues from the gorge at Queenston is barely two hundred yards in width, and flows at the rate of about four miles an hour. The cliffs which wall it in above are almost perpendicular, rising to the height of about 350 feet above the stream, yet on the Canadian side, in many places were so overgrown, and almost concealed, by shrubs and trees which struck their roots into the clefts and crannies of the rocks, as to make it possible for an ordinarily active man to climb up with little difficulty from the water's edge to the summit. A few hundred yards west of the landing stood the village, consisting of a stone barracks and

about twenty scattered dwellings surrounded by gardens and orchards. The waggon-road leading from Niagara formed the principal street, and wound up the heights beyond. Another road, commencing at the landing and crossing this at right angles, led to St. David's, throwing off a branch which ascended the heights about a mile to westward, and finally united with the portage road above. In the angle formed by the intersection of these two roads at the south-east corner of the village stood the large stone house of the Hon. Robert Hamilton, with its walled courtyard and substantial out-buildings. The adjacent plain was dotted with many farmhouses near the roads, and the fields were generally enclosed by ordinary rail-fences, diversified near the foot of the heights by an occasional low stone wall. Half-way up the side of the mountain a small redan battery had been built with its angle fronting the river and armed with an eighteen-pounder, and at Vrooman's, or Scott's Point, nearly a mile below, a twenty-four pound gun had been mounted *en barbette* on a crescent-shaped earthwork commanding, although at very long range, both landings, and the breadth of the river between. Capt. Williams, with the light company of the 49th, was stationed at the redan, and the grenadiers of the same regiment, under Capt. James Dennis, and Chisholm's company of the 2nd York, were quartered in the village. Outposts and sentries watched the river from the landing to Vrooman's Point, which was occupied by Capt. Samuel Hatt's company of the 5th Lincoln. The entire force of regulars and militia distributed about Queenston did not exceed two hundred men. Cameron's and Heward's companies of York militia lay at Brown's Point, three miles distant, but there were no other regular troops nearer than Fort George.

Fatigue duty and frequent alarms had begun to tell upon the health and spirits of the men, and at dark on the evening of the 11th Brock learned with much apprehension that some men of the 49th had become insubordinate, wrecked the guard house at Queenston, and even threatened the lives of their officers, but an inquiry showed that their misconduct was caused by drink, and they were liberated with a reprimand.

All that day and the next, parties of riflemen lined the opposite shore and fired incessantly at any living thing that met their eye on the

Queenston side. The houses near the river were riddled by their fire, and even a boat bearing a flag of truce became a target for their bullets. All communication by flag of truce with the enemy was accordingly strictly forbidden, except when special permission was obtained from headquarters.

In a battery, named Fort Gray, above the village of Lewiston, two eighteen-pounders were mounted with the intention of silencing the gun in the redan, and two mortars and a like number of six-pounders were planted on the bank of the river below to cover the landing and drive the British out of Queenston. Chrystie's and Fenwick's regiments of regulars from Fort Niagara, and three militia battalions from Schlosser, were marched to Lewiston by inland roads after dark on the evening of the 12th, and long before the appointed hour of three o'clock more than 4,000 men were assembled there without exciting special attention. Twelve boats, each of which could carry thirty men, and two others having a capacity of eighty each, manned by veteran fishermen familiar with the river, were already moored at the landing. The night was intensely dark, rain was still falling gently, and the winds and the roaring of the river drowned the sound of their movements. Everything seemed to conspire to favor their enterprise.

Col. Van Rensselaer had originally been selected to command the advance guard, but when Chrystie arrived, he stubbornly refused to waive his rank and it was then agreed that the latter should lead a column of three hundred regulars troops, while Van Rensselaer headed an equal number of militia. The militia composing this detachment were accordingly chosen with great care from among the best drilled men, and, by their commander at least, were believed to be superior to the United States troops in point of discipline. Forty picked men of the regular artillery conducted by Lieut. Gansevoort, all of whom had long been quartered at Fort Niagara and knew the river well, were selected to head the other column and were followed by four companies of the 13th United States infantry, which was regarded as one of the crack regiments of their army. Next in succession, Col. Fenwick and Major Mullany were to cross with 550 regulars, then an equal number of mil-

tia was to follow, and so on, until the entire division, consisting of the 6th, 13th, and 23rd United States infantry, detachments of three regular artillery regiments, a battalion of volunteer riflemen, and the 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th regiments of New York militia, were passed over. The artillerymen were provided with matches and rammers to work the captured guns, and a detachment of engineers was detailed to fortify a position as soon as it was taken. The number of officers and men exceeded four thousand, of whom at least fifteen hundred were regulars, and, barring accidents, the whole force might be ferried over in seven trips. The two largest boats were also fitted with platforms on which a fieldpiece with its carriage could be loaded.

In less than a quarter of an hour from the time the boats pushed off, ten of them, conveying three hundred men, reached the opposite shore at the exact spot selected for effecting a landing, quite unperceived by the British sentries. Three others, among them the two largest, were carried down by the current, and of these only the smaller one succeeded in landing below, while the two others returned by command of Col. Chrystie to their own shore to make a fresh start. Most of those who landed were regular troops, comprising the detachment of artillery and three entire companies of the 13th infantry,\* and having sent back the boats to bring over the next detachment, Van Rensselaer assumed the command in the absence of Chrystie, and attempted to form up his men before advancing further. Their presence was then for the first time discovered by a militia sentry, who was so badly frightened that instead of firing his musket at once, he ran into the main guard to give the alarm. In a few minutes Captain Dennis advanced towards the landing with forty-six men of his own company and a few militia, and found the enemy still in much confusion. His first volley fell upon them, as it proved, with fatal precision. Van Rensselaer himself was struck down with six wounds, several company officers and a number of men were killed or disabled, and the entire body retired in disorder to the water's edge where they were partially sheltered by the steep bank.

The batteries at Lewiston, where the gunners were waiting with

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\* Wool's, Malcolm's, and Armstrong's.

matches burning for the signal, instantly opened fire, the first round from their heavy guns being aimed at the redan, but when the glare of the musketry disclosed the position of a small body of British infantry near the landing, all six guns were turned upon it, and Dennis drew his men back under the shelter of the houses of the village. In this brief encounter the loss of the Americans was subsequently stated to have been eight officers and forty-five men killed or wounded.

The gunners in the redan and at Vrooman's Point, began firing at random in the direction of the Lewiston landing, in the hope of striking some of the boats, and Lieut. Crowther of the 41st brought up a light three-pounder field-piece or grasshopper to sweep the road leading to the river. Van Rensselaer, being quite disabled by his wounds, was taken back to Lewiston, and the command devolved upon Capt. John E. Wool, of the 13th, a brave but very young and inexperienced officer, who for more than two hours seems to have been quite satisfied with retaining his foothold beside the river, while the batteries behind him were fast wrecking the village of Queenston. His men, however, maintained a brisk but harmless fire from the shelter of the bank. Reinforcements were steadily pushed over to his assistance, but misfortune still attended them. Two boats loaded with men were swept far out of their course by the current. One of these, commanded by Lieut. Col. Fenwick of the artillery, struggled ashore in the cove below Queenston and attempted to ascend the bank there. They were at once briskly attacked ; Fenwick himself received a pistol shot in the face which partially blinded him, besides two other wounds, and was taken prisoner with most of his men. The other boat drifted fairly within range of Vrooman's battery and was captured there. The river being so narrow many objects could be distinguished upon the opposite shore when lit up by the flashing of the artillery, and the shouts and shrieks of the combatants even were occasionally heard by thousands of interested spectators at Lewiston. Within half an hour of landing, Wool's force was doubled by the arrival of Ogilvie's and Lawrence's companies of the 13th, forty artillerymen under Lieut. Randolph, and a detachment of militia, and all the wounded men were removed, but no officer of superior rank came to assume command.

The gun in the redan continued to throw shells at hazard into the river with little result beyond making the enemy's troops reluctant to enter the boats, although an officer is said to have been killed at Lewiston by one of them, and the darkness and distance rendered the twenty-four pounder at Vrooman's quite ineffective. On the other hand, round shot from the Lewiston batteries soon reduced Hamilton's house to a mere heap of ruins, and drove Crowther's light gun out of range, while the mortars constantly pitched their shells into the village, and their field-pieces searched the gardens and orchards with grape. The movements of the remainder of their troops continued, however, to be remarkably dilatory. The arrival of the wounded perhaps had something to do with this, and the march of a considerable body of militia was arrested by the sudden illness of their commanding officer. At all events, boats remained lying idle on both shores.

Convinced by unmistakable signs that an attack was meditated within a day or two, Brock had been engaged till midnight in dispatching orders for the assembly of the militia. It was no surprise then for him to be aroused shortly after three o'clock by the distant booming of artillery up the river. He rose at once, but still adhering to his opinion that the true attack would not be there, he remarked that it was only the war between the sentries. The steady cannonade and blazing beacons along the heights satisfied him at length that this was something more serious, and he mounted his horse and rode out of the gate just as a dragoon galloped up to announce that the enemy had landed at Queenston. As it was yet uncertain whether another landing was not intended in the vicinity of Niagara, the British general contented himself with giving instructions for Captain Holcroft to follow him with two guns and a party of Indians, while the remainder of the garrison remained under arms in readiness to act in any direction, until daylight more fully disclosed the designs of the enemy, and then set off at full speed, accompanied only by Captain Glegg and Lieut.-Col. McDonnell. At Field's and Brown's Point he paused for an instant to direct the militia companies quartered there to follow him, leaving behind only a sufficient number of men to man the batteries at each place.

Day dawned grey and chill with a thin fog rising from the river. Four boats filled with men were then seen to push off together from Lewiston, and at the same instant the head of a column of troops appeared again above the bank at the Queenston landing. Dennis hastily called down the light company by sound of the bugle from the heights to his support, and concentrated his fire on this force, which very soon retired again under cover of the bank, where their movements were almost entirely screened from view, although they had lost a few men by the random fire of the light company during the morning.

Observing that the battery on the heights was now occupied only by a few men working the gun, Lieut. Gansevoort pointed out to Wool a narrow fisherman's path leading around a rocky point, and winding upwards to the summit, and suggested that a detachment might gain the rear of the British position unobserved by this route. Although already bleeding from more than one wound, Wool eagerly adopted the proposal, and leaving a hundred men to occupy the landing and engage the attention of the British in that quarter, he instantly began the ascent at the head of the remainder, giving strict orders to an officer to shoot any man who attempted to turn back. They met no sentinel nor force of any kind, and gained the summit of the heights quite unopposed.

At this instant Brock rode into the village, splashed with mud from head to foot. He was at once recognized and welcomed with a hearty cheer, by the men of the 49th, in which regiment he had served in every rank from subaltern to colonel. Reining his horse for a moment to acknowledge their salute he rode up the slope to the redan and there dismounted.

A striking scene presented itself to his gaze. A single glance showed him battalion upon battalion of troops drawn up in rear of the American batteries in readiness to embark; other detachments were entering their boats, some already upon the river, and an unknown number already in possession of the Queenston landing. Their guns were throwing round and grape shot into the enclosures of the village where Dennis still contrived to maintain a foothold, and an occasional shell from their mortar battery rose shrieking into the air. So far everything seemed to

promise well. The party that had landed had not gained an inch of ground in three hours, and near a hundred prisoners had been taken with small loss.\*

Watching the flight of a shell from the gun beside him, he observed that it burst prematurely, and turning to the gunner, Brock advised him to try a longer fuse. The words were scarcely out of his mouth when a shout rose from the hillside above, followed by a volley of bullets whistling overhead, and a body of the enemy came charging down upon the rear of the battery. Resistance was out of the question, and there was no time even to mount, so leading their horses by the bridle the three officers ran hastily down the road to the village, followed by the dozen artillerymen working the gun, who fortunately had sufficient presence of mind to spike it before they came away.

All this was plainly visible to the troops at Lewiston, whose shouts could be heard amid the roar of the cannon as their flag rose over the battery, and they then pressed down eagerly to the boats. It was evident that the principal and probably the only attack was to be made here, and Brock despatched a message to Sheaffe at Fort George to turn every gun that would bear, upon the American batteries opposite, and send forward the battalion-companies of the 41st and flank companies of the militia. Then mounting his horse he rode at a gallop to the further end of the village, where the light company of the 49th was drawn up in line awaiting orders. Again he was received with a loud cheer, and wheeling his horse in the direction of the heights, he exclaimed, "Follow me, boys," and led them at a run to the foot of the ascent. There he paused and dismounted, saying: "Take breath, boys—you will need it in a few moments," a significant announcement which provoked another hearty shout.

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\* Five regular officers (Col. Fenwick, Light Art., Lieuts. Phelps and Turner, of the 13th U.S.I., Clark, 23rd U.S.I., and Bailey, 3rd Art.) were taken prisoners, and their parties almost entirely cut to pieces on the left of the village. At least 100 regulars were killed, wounded or taken prisoners on the left of the village before or about sunrise.—*Col. Chrystie's Narrative*.

Early in the morning some Americans landed at Queenston unobserved, but were soon discovered and the alarm given, at which time they retreated unobserved, as it was yet dark, through the village to the Black Swamp four miles back.—*Michael Smith's Complete History of the War*.

The crest of the heights was densely wooded in most places, and their sides dotted with clumps of small trees and shrubs richly spangled with the crimson, russet and golden tints of autumn. These thickets, in combination with the natural inequalities of the ground, furnished excellent cover for the American riflemen. The redan was occupied by the main body of their troops, but they were unable to make any use of the captured gun. Freshly landed men were already ascending to their assistance, and the mortar battery had begun to throw shells in the direction of Brock's party in the hope of checking its advance.\*

Convinced of the great importance of regaining the lost position before the enemy was heavily reinforced, he ordered Dennis to join him with the 49th grenadiers and Chisholm's company of York militia, leaving only a few men in the village to hold the Americans in check in that quarter. When these companies came up he detached Williams with a section of his own company and the whole of the militia, making about seventy men in all, by a roundabout route to turn the left of Wool's position. Observing this movement, the latter detached a party of 150 men to meet it, but, after a brief interchange of shots the Americans fell into confusion and began to retire. Seizing the favorable moment Brock sprang over the stone wall behind which he had directed his men to take shelter, and led the way directly up the steep ascent towards the battery, waving his sword and shouting words of encouragement to the grenadiers, who followed him with a ready cheer.

The rain had ceased and strong, slanting gleams of sunshine broke through the parting clouds. The ground was thickly strewn with fallen leaves slippery with wet, and yielding treacherously, and as the men stumbled and fell here and there the line was quickly broken. Wool sent a reinforcement to support his advance party, and their fire soon began to tell. "This is the first time I have ever seen the 49th turn their backs!" Brock exclaimed angrily as he noticed unwounded men dropping to the rear, and at the rebuke the ranks promptly closed up. McDonnell brought up in support the companies of Cameron and

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\* When General Brock arrived, 350 regulars, and 257 volunteers had already crossed.—*Low's History of the late War.*

Heward, which had just arrived from Brown's Point much exhausted, having run nearly all the way. The force then engaged in the direct assault of the heights, including the last named companies, numbered about one hundred and ninety men. The flank companies were uniformed in scarlet, and advanced with such steadiness that Wool was led to believe that he was being attacked by four companies of the 49th. His own command had been increased to about five hundred rank and file, two-thirds of whom were regular soldiers, yet notwithstanding their advantage in numbers and position, being at the same time pressed warmly on the flank by William's detachment they began to shrink from the contest.

Seeing that the supports were lagging at the foot of the hill, Brock shouted to McDonnell to "push on the York volunteers." A bullet struck the wrist of his sword-arm inflicting a slight wound, to which he paid no attention but continued to wave his sword and encourage his men. His tall and portly figure and energetic gestures, as well as his uniform and position several yards in front of the line, naturally made him a special target for the bullets of the enemy, although he does not seem to have been personally recognized by them. At last a rifleman, said to be one Wilklow, of Moseley's battalion, stepped out of a thicket less than fifty yards away and took deliberate aim at him. More than one man of the 49th observed this and fired hastily in the hope of anticipating his shot, but without effect. The fatal bullet struck their leader in the breast very near the heart, and he sank slowly to the ground and expired after murmuring a few broken sentences to those nearest him to conceal his death from the men and continue the fight.\*

McDonnell spurred his horse sharply to the front and called upon the grenadiers to avenge their leader's death. Williams at the same moment led forward his detachment from the thickets on the right and the combined force charged at once fiercely upon the front and flank of the enemy, who were already in disorder and huddled together about the battery, out of which they were quickly expelled and driven obliquely upwards towards the summit of the heights in the direction of

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\* Vide Appendix I.

the river. Being hotly pursued, an officer raised a handkerchief or a white cloth on the point of his sword as a flag of truce, but this was quickly snatched away from him by Wool, who by great exertions succeeded in persuading his men to make another stand on the very verge of the cliff. A body of fresh troops, including an entire company of the 6th U. S. infantry, and another of rifles, opportunely came to his assistance at this critical moment and enabled him to prolong his line until he outflanked his assailants in both directions. They had also fallen into much disorder through the haste and impetuosity of their advance. Williams was disabled by a ghastly wound in the head, Dennis was badly hurt, and a considerable number of men killed or wounded. McDonnell had as yet escaped unharmed, although being the only mounted officer present, he naturally attracted the fire of the enemy by whom he was supposed at the time to be a general at least, and his hat and clothes were pierced in many places. But now while attempting to restore order and form the men for a fresh attack, his horse was struck by a shot, and as the animal plunged in agony, the rider also received a mortal wound and was thrown from the saddle. In spite of the efforts of Dennis and other officers, the British then gave way in turn and retreated to the foot of the heights, carrying with them, however, the dead body of their general and most of the wounded. They were not vigorously pursued and did not lose more than a dozen prisoners, most of whom were too badly injured to be removed. Dennis refused to quit the field and succeeded in collecting most of his men at the farther end of the village which was still occupied by Lieut. Crowther with a squad of militia artillerymen in charge of two small guns.

The result of this engagement had a very inspiriting influence upon the troops at Lewiston, numbers of whom instantly professed great eagerness to cross the river and share the glories of the day. They still possessed a sufficient number of boats to carry over the remainder of the division before ten o'clock; the passage of the river was now for some time entirely unopposed, and why they did not make better use of their opportunities has never been satisfactorily explained. One officer

of rank (Col. Chrystie) stated that he crossed the river three times, and that Major Mullany went from one side to the other no less than five times during the day. For five hours after Brock's death they were practically in unmolested possession of the landing, and the heights as well, and Col. Van Rensselaer asserted that as long as the men showed any inclination to cross, the boats were well managed. As it was, considerable bodies both of regular troops and militia were brought over with a six-pound field piece, its carriage and tumbrel. Shortly after seven o'clock Col. Chrystie came over and assumed the command, but finding himself unable even to dislodge the garrison from the village, he recrossed the river to bring over reinforcements with artillery and intrenching tools. Upon hearing his report of the situation, General Van Rensselaer despatched an order to General Smyth, at Buffalo, to move his brigade to his support, and sent over an engineer officer to lay out a fortified camp. About noon he crossed in person. General Van Rensselaer and Colonel Chrystie examined the position on the heights and gave directions for its immediate fortification. Engineer officers were set at work and field works traced out. The gun in the redan was unspiked and brought to bear upon the village. Colonel Winfield Scott, the future conqueror of Mexico, having arrived from Buffalo during the morning with a battery of artillery, placed his guns in position at Lewiston and crossed the river to take command of the regular troops at Queenston, who were reinforced by detachments of the 6th and 23rd U. S. infantry and 2nd and 3rd artillery. About the same time Brigadier-General William Wadsworth assumed command of the militia brigade, consisting of portions of Allen's, Bloom's, Mead's, and Stranahan's regiments, and Moseley's battalion of riflemen. The precise number of men belonging to these corps that passed the river, it is now impossible to ascertain. Estimates by their own officers ranged from one thousand to sixteen hundred. Some companies of militia were represented by officers without men; others by men without officers, while a few were almost or quite complete.\*

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\* Colonel Chrystie crossed before 10 o'clock with 500 men, and at 3 p.m. the Americans on the heights numbered 920.—*J. L. Thomson.*

The sound of a heavy cannonade from the mouth of the river excited the worst apprehensions in the minds of the little band that continued to occupy Queenston village, until they were reassured by the arrival of Captain Derenzy with several companies of the 41st and militia, a detachment of Royal Artillery with two field guns under Captain Holcroft, and a party of Indians led by Captain John Norton and Lieut. John Brant. Stragglers from the field whom these reinforcements encountered on the road, reported that Dennis' entire command had been cut to pieces, and that five thousand men had landed. Accordingly they had advanced much of the distance at the double, and when they reached Queenston they were out of breath and quite exhausted.\* Under these circumstances it would have been folly to attempt the recovery of the heights, where the numbers of the enemy could have been seen momentarily increasing, but Holcroft promptly planted his guns on the high ground below the village, and endeavored to interrupt the passage of the river.

Small parties of the enemy had entered the upper part of the village, where they plundered some of the houses, but they made no effort to occupy it in force. After a few shots, finding that his pieces were too far away to reach their boats, Holcroft again limbered up, and, guided by Captain Archibald Hamilton, to whom every inch of ground was familiar from boyhood, dashed boldly across the ravine and through the village until he reached Hamilton's house, where he took up a position within the courtyard partly sheltered by the ruins of the wall. Derenzy at once supported him with a company of the 41st, and his fire soon became effective, although he lost several of his best men. A few spherical case-shot drove away the enemy's riflemen, and he then engaged the batteries opposite, firing also, when an opportunity offered, at boats on the river. The battery on Lewiston Heights was still out of range, but the guns at the landing were three times silenced, and a scow, and at least two other boats, sunk in the act of crossing. Such was the pre-

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\* Expresses now went down to Fort George, eight miles, and the sound was on the float—"Hurry! boys, or else our dear General will be killed," and others cried—"He is wounded, he is wounded! Hurry! Hurry! save our Governor!" Such sounds filled every bosom with martial fire. —*Smith's Complete History, 6th Ed.*

cision of his fire, that from that time forward very few men succeeded in passing the river.

In the meantime Scott had thrown out pickets to the edge of the woods on the left of his position, and the Indians were detached in that direction to drive them in and annoy their working parties. This was accomplished in fine style, as their approach through the woods was undetected, and the American outposts were surprised and completely routed with considerable loss. A large body of infantry then advanced to repel them, and the Indians instantly ran to the woods again, whence they kept up an incessant fire, accompanied with shrill whoops. The suddenness of the attack and the character of the assailants produced a genuine panic, which extended itself even to Lewiston, where a militia company on the point of entering the boats abruptly halted and refused to proceed. Norton continued to skirmish with and annoy their outposts, and although several times attacked, always eluded his antagonists by plunging into the woods, where they dared not follow. Numbers of the American militia deserted their companies, and attempted to regain their own shore, and thenceforth their force continued to diminish. In addition to the serious annoyance and loss inflicted upon the enemy by this movement, direct communication was again opened with the garrison at Chippawa.

Upon reaching Queenston, Derenzy had at once sent a message to General Sheaffe, describing the situation of affairs, and the latter soon afterwards arrived and assumed command. He lost no time in ordering every man that could be spared from the garrisons of Fort George and Chippawa, to join him without delay. By two o'clock the detachments from the former post had all arrived, leaving it occupied only by a few men of the Royal Artillery and the Lincoln militia, and those from Chippawa were known to be rapidly approaching. The force already assembled consisted of Holcroft's detachment of Royal Artillery with two six-pounders, a squad of Swayze's provincial artillery with two three-pounders, under Lieut. Crowther, five companies of the 41st regiment, Capt. James Crook's and John McEwen's companies of the 1st Lincoln, William Crook's and Nelles' companies of the 4th Lincoln, Ap-

plegarth's, Hatts' and Durand's companies of the 5th Lincoln, a few troopers of Merritt's provincial dragoons, and the remnants of the two companies of the 49th and three of the York militia engaged in the morning, probably numbering in all rather more than 800 of all ranks, exclusive of the Indians, who certainly did not exceed one hundred.

As the enemy's forces appeared to be still considerably more numerous than his own, and they were busily engaged in fortifying their position in evident anticipation of another direct attack from below, the British commander determined to leave Holcroft's two guns, supported by a detachment of infantry, to occupy the village, and prevent the passage of reinforcements while, with the remainder of his troops, he moved around their flank, ascending the heights in rear of the woods already occupied by the Indians, and formed a junction with the column advancing from Chippawa, which would increase his numerical strength by 150 men. Although this manœuvre would compel him to make a détour of nearly three miles before engaging, he would at once escape the enfilading fire of the batteries at Lewiston, avoid the steep ascent in the face of the enemy, render their fieldworks useless, and place his men on an equal footing with them on the open and level ground above.

The Indians redoubled their activity as the column approached, keeping, however, well under cover, and thoroughly succeeded in baffling any attempt to harass its advance. Within an hour Sheaffe gained the cleared ground on the right of the woods occupied by them, extending as far as the portage road, when he beheld Captain Richard Bullock advancing from Chippawa with his own company of the 41st, and Captain Robert Hamilton's and John Rowe's companies of the 2nd Lincoln, strengthened for the occasion, like most of the others, by a number of volunteers from the ranks of the sedentary militia. Foremost among other aged men properly exempt from service, whom the emergency had impelled to seize their arms again, was Lieut.-Col. Ralfe Clench, once an officer in Butler's rangers, and then the district judge, who had retired from command of the 1st Lincoln battalion a few years before, owing to infirmity.

The combined force, numbering about 930 officers and men, was

formed for the attack with the light company of the 41st, under Lieut. McIntyre, and the two companies of the 49th, still commanded by the dauntless Dennis, on the left of the line next the Indians, supported by a small battalion of militia, under Lieut.-Col. T. Butler. The centre and right wing were composed of the five remaining companies of the 41st, having in support the rest of the militia under Lieut.-Col. Thomas Clarke. The two small field-pieces, drawn by men with drag ropes, preceded the advance of the line, which was necessarily deliberate.

The number of combatants actually arrayed against them at that moment cannot be exactly stated, but could hardly have been less than nine hundred, of whom more than half were regulars. Like the British, the force was made up of detachments from many different battalions. Its ranks had been much diminished by desertions since the Indians had renewed the fight, numbers of men stealing down to the river and lurking there in the hope of finding means of escape. Perceiving that Sheaffe was preparing for a decisive attack upon his position, and probably having no desire to grace his triumph as a prisoner, General Van Rensselaer determined to return to Lewiston, with the lingering hope of enlisting a reinforcement from the large body of militia still congregated there. He had scarcely entered his boat, when the skulkers at the landing crowded into it in such numbers, that it was in actual danger of being swamped by their weight, and pushed off heedless alike of his threats and entreaties.

His departure left Colonel Scott in command, having under him Colonel Chrystie and Brigadier-General Wadsworth. Sheaffe's movement obliged him to abandon his uncompleted fieldworks, and take up a new position on the crown of the heights, where a slight barricade was hastily extemporized with fence-rails, logs, and brushwood, with the left flank resting on the edge of the cliff, and the riflemen on the other, facing the Indians from among the brush-huts, formerly occupied by the 49th light company. The gun in the redan could not be made to bear in this direction, and his solitary field-piece was therefore planted in front of the centre of the line, near the site of the present monument.

While waiting the attack, Scott received a message from Van Rensse-

laer, stating that he had been unable to induce a single regiment, or even a company, to advance to his relief, but forwarding a supply of ammunition and assuring him, that if he felt unable to maintain his position, boats would be sent to remove the troops, and the artillery would cover his retreat. Upon Van Rensselaer's arrival on his own shore he found a few men at the landing, whom he sent over, and then, accompanied by members of his staff and "old Judge Peck," grotesquely equipped for war in a huge cocked hat and long sword, rode through the cantonments, exhorting the groups of lounging soldiers they met there on every hand to make an effort to rescue their comrades from their perilous situation, but without producing the slightest effect.

Scott's men were already profoundly discouraged at being called upon to fight another action, and evinced a discouraging propensity to stray away from their ranks, which he endeavored to check by instructing the sergeants to shoot those who should attempt to leave their posts without orders.

The contest was begun by the advance of the light company of the 41st, which fired a single volley, and then charged with fixed bayonets upon the riflemen on the right of the American line, who, being unprovided with weapons to resist this form of attack, gave way in great confusion, leaving its flank exposed. On witnessing the success of this movement, Sheaffe gave the signal for a general advance. The entire line raised the Indian warwhoop and charged with great fury. The gun was taken and the position carried almost without resistance, and the entire body of American troops forced swiftly back upon the river, the British line by the advance of the wings gradually assuming the form of a crescent, and overlapping them on both flanks. Some of the fugitives, braving the fire of the guns in the village, ran down the hill towards the landing; a few took shelter in a house where they were taken; Scott, himself, and a number of others, scrambled down the steep bank to the water's edge, in the hope of finding the promised boats; Wadsworth and Chrystie, with more than three hundred officers and men, surrendered on the verge of the cliff.

Meanwhile the fire of Holcroft's artillery had rendered the passage of

the river so dangerous, that the boatmen positively refused to undertake it and dispersed. As no boats were waiting to receive them, a few desperate men plunged into the river and attempted to swim across, of whom some perished ; the remainder tried to secrete themselves among the rocks and thickets along the shore. The Indians lined the cliffs above, or perched themselves in the trees whooping incessantly, and firing at the fugitives whenever an opportunity offered. Under these circumstances Scott was glad to raise a white flag in the hope of preserving the lives of the rest of his command. For a few minutes, even after this was done, the Indians continued to shoot down or tomahawk the unresisting crowd, either not observing or disregarding this token of submission, until it is said that Sheaffe grew so indignant at their misconduct, that he dashed his hat and sword on the ground, and threatened that he would resign the command if they were not at once restrained. When this was accomplished, 390 officers and men surrendered there. Some yet evaded discovery, and forty were brought in next day, swelling the entire number of prisoners taken to an aggregate of 958, among whom there were one general, six colonels, three majors, seventeen captains and thirty-six subalterns.

The loss in killed and wounded cannot be exactly stated on either side. The British official return is missing, but it is said to have footed up a total of only sixteen killed and sixty-nine wounded. The two companies of the 49th are stated to have lost three sergeants and 39 men alone, nine of whom were killed. Two men of the 41st and a gunner of the Royal Artillery were also killed. It is doubtful whether the casualties among the militia and Indians were included in this return. Two Cayuga chiefs and three warriors, whose names have been preserved, were killed, and Norton and eight others wounded. Although this loss was insignificant in point of numbers, the death of Gen. Brock was felt to be an almost irreparable blow, and by many of his opponents was considered to have fully compensated for their defeat. Lieut.-Col. McDonnell seems to have been the only other British officer killed, and none but Captains Dennis and Williams appear to have been wounded.

No complete return of casualties was attempted by the Americans,

probably owing to the immediate dispersal of a large portion of their militia. A week after the battle, Van Rensselaer stated officially that it would be impossible to furnish an exact return, but estimated the number of killed at sixty, and of wounded at one hundred and seventy. It was but natural that he should attempt to minimize his losses, and accordingly we find others inclined to believe them very much greater. Lossing and J. L. Thomson, neither of whom would be prone to exaggeration in this respect, agree in placing the number of killed at ninety, but diminish the number of wounded. Contemporary accounts generally put both still higher. Colonel Mead, a prisoner, estimated the killed and drowned at one hundred, and the wounded at twice that number, while Colonel Bloom, who was wounded but escaped capture, thought that a hundred were drowned alone, and three hundred killed and wounded. An eye-witness, whose letter was published in the *Boston Messenger*, stated that 1,600 Americans were engaged, of whom 900 were regulars, and that the number of killed was variously estimated from 150 up to 400. A letter in the *Ontario Repository*, also from an eye-witness, computed the killed and missing at 250, while still another in the *Geneva Gazette* raised the number to 300. But a British officer writing from Fort George on the 17th of October, fairly distanced all others by the conjecture that 500 of their men must have perished in the action, or in the river, relating in support of his opinion that one boat was seen to sink with about fifty men, while two others, each having as many on board, did not bring more than half a dozen ashore alive in either of them.

There can be no doubt that the loss of the vanquished was severe. A single company of the 13th lost thirty men in killed or wounded, and four out of the five captains of that regiment engaged were disabled by wounds. Three captains and three subalterns were killed, and besides those who were taken prisoners, two colonels, four captains, and five subalterns were wounded. There were one hundred and twenty wounded officers and men among the prisoners, thirty of whom died. The hospital at Niagara was filled, and the remainder sheltered in the court house and churches. One hundred and forty others had been removed before the

surrender, to Lewiston, and of these, not less than one hundred are reported to have been buried within a month, many of them dying from flesh wounds through insufficient care.

Van Rensselaer's failure was complete and disastrous. He had lost all his best officers, and the flower of his troops, and the entire division engaged was practically rendered incapable of resuming operations in the field. Ten days afterwards he abandoned the struggle in despair, by throwing up the command. His successor, General Smyth, reported that he found his force diminished by more than two thousand men in consequence of the defeat, half this loss having been caused by desertion. Several of the militia regiments had to be actually disbanded in consequence, and the men still remaining in camp allowed to return to their homes. A letter written from Manlius, N. Y., on the 3rd of November, states that "the militia corps on the lines have dwindled, and are dwindling to mere skeletons, some of the companies containing a less number of privates than officers. The rifle corps from this county is reduced by sickness, prisoners, etc., to less than the complement of a company, and Major Moseley in consequence has returned home." They literally deserted by hundreds, and the two brigades of Generals Miller and Wadsworth were consolidated into a single regiment.\*

Besides the field-piece already mentioned, and about a thousand stand of small arms, the colors of one of the New York regiments were taken. In November this trophy was displayed in the courtyard of the Castle of St. Louis at Quebec, and was thus described by the *Mercury* :—"It is made of blue or purple-colored changeable silk about a yard and a half square, with the arms of the United States on one side and those of New York on the other, both surrounded by a circle of stars."

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\* "Van Rensselaer's Campaign did not, like that of Hull's, cost a Province, but it sacrificed nearly as many effective troops as were surrendered by Hull."—*Henry Adams, History of the United States, vol vi., page 353.*

## APPENDIX I.

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### General Brock's Death.

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Extract from a letter from Major J. B. Glegg, to Mr. Wm. Brock, dated at Fort George, 14th October, 1812 :—

"The ball entered his right breast and passed through on his left side. His sufferings were of very short duration, and were terminated in a few minutes, when he uttered in a feeble voice: 'My fall must not be noticed or impede my brave companions from advancing to victory.'

"His lifeless corpse was immediately conveyed into a house at Queenston, unperceived by the enemy, and though we were obliged by overwhelming numbers to leave it there for some hours, it was not observed by the enemy, and upon victory declaring for us, I hastened to the spot, and the body was conveyed to Fort George, where it now lies in the Government House. He was beloved by all who knew him, and was admired by his army and the inhabitants of this province."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"YORK, 25th October, 1812.

"For his interment I made choice of cavalier bastion planned by him, and lately finished under his personal superintendence.

"Col. McDonnel was wounded in four places, and though one ball passed through his body, yet he survived twenty hours."

## APPENDIX II.

### List of American Officers Killed, Wounded, or taken Prisoners.

KILLED.—Capt. Nelson, 6th U. S. I.; Lieut. Valneau and Ensign Morris, 13th, ditto; Lieut. Rathbone, Light Artillery; Capt. S. Clarke, N. Y. Volunteers; Capt. E. Saunders, 16th N. Y. Volunteers.

WOUNDED BUT ESCAPED.—Cpts. Armstrong, Malcolm, Lawrence, and Wool, 13th U. S. I.; Lieut. Wendell and Ensign Lent; Lieut. Roach, 2nd Artillery; Lieut-Cols. Bloom and Van Rensselaer, Lieut. Sweeney and Adjutant Stafford, N. Y. Volunteers.

WOUNDED AND PRISONERS—Lieut.-Cols. Chrystie, 13th U. S. I.; and Fenwick, Light Artillery; Lieut. Clark, 23rd U. S. I., and Phelps, 13th, ditto.

UNWOUNDED PRISONERS, REGULARS.—Lieut.-Col. Scott, Major Mulany, Cpts. Gibson, McChesney and Ogilvie, Lieuts. Bailey, Carr, Fink, Hugunin, Kearney, Randolph, Totten, Turner, and Ensign Kent.

MILITIA.—Brig.-Gen. Wadsworth, Lieut.-Cols. Allen, Mead and Stranahan; Majors Holland and Smith; Cpts. Barker, Boem, Brinkerhoof, Brown, Clark, Cronk, Eldridge, Ellis, Howland, Patengal, Root, Spencer and Stanley; Lieuts. Culley, Daniels, Field, Gray, Hocomb, Houghton, Kishler, Phillips, Price, Randall, Richmond, Robinson, Shepard, Smith, Smith, and Wilson; Ensigns Broughton, Cobb, Denton, Hoyton, Ireland, Peck, Sperry, Waldron and White.



